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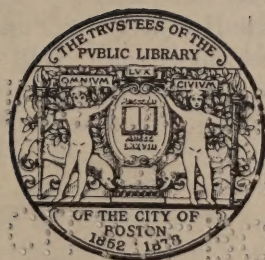
Boston and the Bay Colony

A Tercentenary Exhibit of Rare Books, Broadsides and Manuscripts

Shown in the Treasure Room of the
Boston Public Library

During the Summer of 1930

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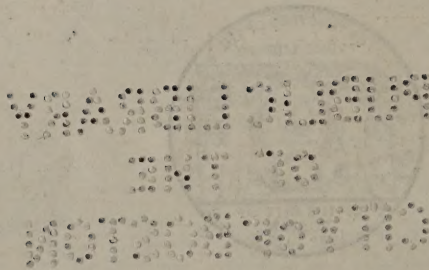
Boston and the Bay Colony

A Centennial Exhibit of
Rare Books, Broad-sides and Manuscripts

Shown in the Trevelyan Room of the

Boston Public Library

100 State Street, Boston, Mass., 1910



Reprinted from the June 1930 issue of MORE BOOKS, the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library.

Boston and the Bay Colony

IN celebration of the Tercentenary an exhibition has been arranged in the Treasure Room of the Library: rare books, maps, manuscripts and broadsides illustrating the history of Boston and the Bay Colony have been placed on view. The exhibition includes over two hundred and fifty items — the books, with a few exceptions, are first edition copies and the manuscripts are all original autographs. Every item in the cases has a special value and many have an exceptional, even unique, interest. This is not merely a bibliographical but an historical exhibit. The yellow pages with the awkward type, the crabbed handwriting with the stingy contractions tell their story with a singular force: they grip one's mind and carry one's attention back into their own age.

The exhibition is comprehensive: it starts with the discovery of America and reaches to our day. But spacious though the new Treasure Room is, the emphasis had to be centered on one particular period. The choice fell naturally upon the seventeenth century: two-thirds of the material on view bear upon the lives of the first three generations of Colonists, especially the first. The farewell which John Winthrop and his companions addressed to their brethren in England "from Yarmouth, aboard the *Arbella*" stands at the birth of a new commonwealth; and the first epoch of the new country came to a close with the Provincial Charter issued by William III and, possibly, with the proclamation of the cessation of the trials at Salem Village. Between these dates of 1630 and 1691 or 1693 lies the arduous, teeming life of the Puritans, with names standing out like Endicott, Dudley, Sir Harry Vane, John Cotton, Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, Richard and Increase Mather, John Eliot, Anne Bradstreet, Sir Edmund Andros — men and women filled with that passionate will and belief without which there is no creative activity. Around these names, in successive units, is shown in the exhibit the political, social and religious life of the century.

But the period before 1630 and the centuries since 1693 are also amply illustrated. The first item in the exhibit is the 1482 edition of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, with the map of Greenland in it, and a whole row of books and maps relate the voyages of Columbus and the explorations of the Spanish, French and English navigators during the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century. The works of Las Casas, Peter Martyr, Eden, Hakluyt, Purchas, Les-carbot, Champlain and John Smith call up an age of unprecedented adventure, heroic daring and inhuman cruelty. Similarly, there is a long series of books and manuscripts showing the history of Boston and Massachusetts during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries — the Revolution, the war of 1812, the anti-slavery movement, the Civil War, and the Golden Age of Boston in art and literature. Of course, only a few — the choicest — items could be selected for each period. In arranging this exhibit, the difficulty of the task lay in the abundance of the material.

In its Prince Collection, strengthened by various smaller collections and the individual purchases of many years, the Boston Public Library possesses one of the largest and most valuable groups of Americana ever brought together. It is a pleasure to display these books and manuscripts, in their multitude and rich variety, for the occasion of the Tercentenary. Some of these items have not been seen by a half dozen persons during a half century; now over six thousand people have been able to view them in a single month. Indeed, one cannot over-estimate the importance of the new Treasure Room. In it the Library has an incomparable means for acquainting the public with its priceless possessions.

The items in the cases have been provided with descriptive notes. The purpose of this article is to give a comprehensive view of the whole exhibit, carrying the reader — the visitor — from the first case to the last. The comments are necessarily brief, and the omissions are many.

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The first map of a portion of America, the first letter of Columbus, the first reference to the New World, the first suggestion of the name "America," the first sketch of Columbus's life . . . : it is with this group of books that the exhibition begins. First editions of about a dozen works, giving the earliest story of the discovery of America.

The earliest map of a part of America — Greenland — appeared in the third edition of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, printed at Ulm in 1482. Ptolemy's work was first translated from Greek into Latin in 1409 by Jacobus Angelus, whose translation was revised in 1466 by the German humanist Nicolaus Germanus. These manuscripts, and the two earliest printed editions, contained only the twenty-seven traditional Ptolemy maps. Some time before 1482, two new versions of Nicolaus's translation were made, the first of which was accompanied by three, and the second by five new maps. This second version served as copy for the Ulm edition of 1482. Greenland, for the first time, figures on the map of the world — represented as a peninsula of Northern Europe, lying above "Norbegio" and surrounded by the blue "Mare Glaciale." The fifth map in the book gives a larger and more detailed drawing of "Engronelant." The peninsula, laid in what is called this time "Mare Congelatum," is divided into several sections, each bearing its own name. (The writer of this article has not come across any study devoted to the decipherment and explanation of these names — a task that would seem well worth the effort.) This map was made ten years before Columbus set sail in order to find the western passage to India. Nicolaus Germanus obviously based it on the productions of the Norse map-makers, and its existence seems to be a fair proof that the New World was known long before the discoveries of Columbus.

Columbus's letter *About the Islands of India, Recently Discovered beyond the Ganges* was written on March 14, 1493, on board the *Niña*, in the harbor of Lisbon, just before he started for Barcelona to appear before King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella; and it was addressed to Gabriel Sanchez, "treasurer of the same most serene Majesties." (For an article about this letter see the May, 1929 issue of *MORE BOOKS*.) The letter to Sanchez was a duplicate of another letter, which Columbus dispatched the same day to Luis de Santangel, treasurer of supplies for Aragon. Unquestionably, both papers were handed about at the Court and were eagerly copied. In April the letter to Santangel had already appeared in print in Barcelona, and a few years later it was reprinted at Valladolid. Now only a single

copy of each of these editions exists. But it was the letter to Sanchez, which, outside of Spain, spread the news of Columbus's discovery. Translated from Spanish into Latin, it was published in May 1493 in Rome, and soon after also in Antwerp, Basel and Paris. The Rome editions are the earliest and therefore the most valuable. Of the first edition, printed by Stephen Planck, about a dozen copies exist. The Library's copy is of this first edition.

In 1493 Dr. Alonzo Ortiz, a canon in Toledo, published in Seville a volume of his tracts and orations. The speech which he addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella after the fall of Granada begins with the sentence: ". . . For there is no people so barbarous, even though it be in the remote Indies, that it is ignorant of your glorious conquests . . ." This rhetorical flourish is one of the earliest allusions to Columbus's discoveries. Other references soon followed; the various World Chronicles, produced in such an abundance in the prosperous cities of Italy, could not silently pass over the great event.

Everyone knows that America was named after Amerigo Vespucci, but few know by whom and when its name was given to the New World. So people may be interested in the little volume, opened between its fifteenth and sixteenth leaves, in which the word "America" first occurs. It was printed in 1507 in the town of St. Diey, in the Vosges, the work of a German monk, Martin WalzemueUer or Waldseemueller. "Now however . . ." the paragraph reads, "another quarter has been discovered by Amerigo Vespucci . . . and I do not see how anyone can rightly object that it should be named, after its sagacious and ingenious discoverer, Amerige (as it were Amerigo's land) or America: since both Europe and Asia took their names from women . . ." *Americam dicendam*: here is the fateful phrase. While Columbus, a dying man, was bitterly complaining that he did not possess a roof in Spain which he could call his own, his lucky compatriot was celebrated throughout Europe as the discoverer of America. Vespucci claimed that — on June 16, 1497 — he was the first to touch the American mainland. It is doubtful whether in 1497 he made any voyage at all. But people believed him and the description of his travels went through innumerable editions. So it happened that when a printing press was started at St. Diey, the monks in the college, all aflame with the rumors about the New World, found it eminently fitting that their first book should be the *Quatuor Navigationes* of the great Vespucci. Martin Waldseemueller, professor of geography, composed a treatise, *Cosmographiae Introductio*, as an accompaniment to Vespucci's work, and through the sentence quoted above accidentally became the godfather of America . . . It is true that Waldseemueller had only Brazil in mind, but as the coast line was later more fully explored, the name became attached to the whole of South America. Finally, in Ortelius's great geography, published at Antwerp in 1570, the entire western hemisphere was called America.

A few months after the St. Diey monks had published their little treatise appeared at Vicenza Fracanzano Montalbaddo's compilation of voyages *Paasi Novamente Retrovati*. The work — next to Vercellese's *Libretto* the earliest collection of its kind — contains accounts of the navigations of Cadamosto, Vasco de Gama, Cabral, Columbus, the Pinsons, Vespucci, Corte Real, and others. The book has been frequently reprinted and translated. The first Latin version, *Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam*, was published in Milan in 1508. This book, in its time, did more than any other for the spread of knowledge about the new discoveries.

The first sketch of Columbus's life appeared in the Genoa *Polyglot Psalter* of 1516. The prophecy of the 19th Psalm that "God's praise will go abroad to the ends of the earth" served as an excuse for the editor, Agostino Giustiniano, to insert in the form of a commentary a short biography of Columbus. "I say that Christopher, by name Columbus, a native of Genoa, sprung from a common parentage, in our day by his own energy explored in a few months more land and sea than almost all other mortals in the ages that are gone . . ." — the sketch begins and continues through four pages. The volume itself is not very rare. Though beautifully printed in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Chaldean types, the work was received with little appreciation, so that of its two thousand copies many remained unsold. The author, besides, was fiercely attacked by Columbus's younger son, Fernando, who resented that his father's parentage was described as common; according to his claim, though wholly unsupported by facts, the root of his family reached back to Roman times. Fernando's own *Historie*, however, were not printed until 1571 — and even then in an Italian translation in Venice. The original Spanish manuscript of this first full-length biography of Columbus was lost; the later Spanish editions were retranslated from the Italian version.

The sixteenth century was the age of fabulous discoveries. Columbus, the Genoese, Vespucci, the Florentine, and Cabotto, the Venetian, had a host of emulators among Spaniards, Frenchmen and Englishmen. About twenty items in the cases are devoted to their explorations.

A portolan atlas of six charts, dating back to the second half of the sixteenth century, attracts attention at once. Two of the charts are of the coasts of South America, one of Mexico and Florida, and one of New France; one of the remaining two shows the Mediterranean and northern Africa, and the other Africa alone. On the chart of the Mediterranean there is an inscription "Augustin Roussin m'a feict dans la ville de Marseille," and the city of Marseilles is marked with towers and fortifications. The identity of Roussin is unknown; it has been suggested that the draughtsman of the atlas may have been a seaman and not a professional cartographer. The decorations of the charts, however, are too well-made to come from the hands of a simple seaman; further, both in color and design they show a conformity to standards that must have been in vogue in the chart-makers' shops of the period. At the same time, the worn condition of the atlas sufficiently proves that it was used in actual voyages. These charts are really surprisingly accurate — the portolan atlases, embodying the observations of navigators, were the first scientific maps. The specimen in the Library has all the peculiarities of the type. One notices that no rivers, mountains, or inland cities are given on the charts; the portolans were for the use of seamen, who were not interested in the interior regions.

Among the early explorers of the New World none were more spectacular than the Spaniards, whose exploits remain unsurpassed for boldness and savagery. The names of Cortés, Pizarro, and Alvarado are written indelibly into history. The age-old empires of the Aztecs and Incas crumbled at the stroke of these adventurers and their handful of followers. In the name of God and King they hacked down the innocent natives, checked by no authority from Spain. But their misdeeds, in spite of the connivance of the official historians, did not remain unrecorded. In the priest Bartolomé de las Casas the Indians found a zealous

COSMOGRAPHIAE

Capadociam/ Pamphiliam/ Lidiā/ Ciliciā/ Armenias maiorem & minorem. Colchiden/ Hircaniam Hiberiam/ Albaniam: & præterea multas quas singillatim enumerare longa mora esset. Ita dicta ab eius nominis regina.

Americo

Nunc vero & hæc partes sunt latius lustratæ/ & alia quarta pars per Americū Vespūtium(vt in sequentibus audietur) inuenta est: quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore sagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram/ siue Americam dicendam: cum & Europa & Asia a mulieribus suā sortita sint nomina. Eius sitū & gentis mores ex his binis Americi nauigationibus quæ sequuntur liquide intelligi datur.

Priscia:

Hunc in modum terra iam quadripartita cognoscitur: & sunt tres primæ partes cōtinentes: quarta est insula: cum omni quāq; mari circūdata cōspiciatur. Et licet mare vnū sit quēadmodum & ipsa tellus: multis tamen sinibus distinctum/ & innumeris repletum insulis varia sibi nomina assumit: quæ in Cosmographiæ tabulis conspiciuntur: & Priscianus in translatione Dionisij talibus enumerat versibus.
Circuit Oceani gurges tamen vndiq; vastus
Qui quous vnus sit/ plurima nomina sumit.
Finibus Hesperijs Athlanticus ille vocatur
At Boreæ qua gens furit Armiaspa sub armis
Dicit ille piger necnon Satur. idē mortuus est alijs:

defender. Las Casas spent forty years in Mexico, teaching and consoling the people, and returned several times to Spain to intervene in their behalf. In 1539 he wrote his *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias*, a book which could not be published until 1552. Sepúlveda and Oviedo, the leading Spanish historians, vehemently attacked him for his work at once. But Las Casas held his ground and with rapid-fire speed published eight more tracts during the same year. With utter frankness he laid before the world the incredible barbarities of the Spanish conquerors. The fifth of his tracts contains his dispute with Sepúlveda, in the form of twelve replies to Sepúlveda's twelve main objections. The *Brevissima Relación* (the whole collection is called after the first pamphlet) created an enormous sensation; it was quickly translated into French, German, Flemish and other languages. Six of the tracts are shown in the exhibit, together with a copy of the extremely rare first edition of the English translation *The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies*, printed in London in 1583. Lopez de Gómara's *La Historia General de las Indias*, printed in 1553 at Medina del Campo, is also shown, together with its English translation *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the Weast India*, London, 1578. Gómara was the secretary of Hernando Cortés, which may explain how the insane cruelties of that "worthy Prince" could appear to him a pleasant history.

The English navigators and chroniclers are more fully represented. Richard Eden's *The Decades of the Newe World*, published in London in 1555, is an adaptation of Peter Martyr's work of the same title. In 1577, a year after Eden's death, was published his *History of the Trauayle in the West and East Indies*, containing besides Peter Martyr's book the Bull of Demarcation issued by Alexander VI, an account of two expeditions to New Guinea, and other matters. Eden was a forerunner of Hakluyt, and his volume was the first collection of records of voyages in English. But, of course, Hakluyt was the prince of English chroniclers; *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, printed in 1589, is not only a great historical work, but also one that made history. Hakluyt died in 1616, and the notes which he left were published by Purchas in his *Hakluytus Posthumus*, a work which includes Purchas's own *Pilgrimes*. The complete Hakluyt was printed in five volumes; the tenth "booke," in the fourth volume, deals with New England. Neither Hakluyt nor Purchas ever visited America; they were patient geographers, one a diplomatist and the other a country clergyman by profession. Thomas Hariot's description of Virginia, the first volume in De Bry's *Voyages* printed at Frankfort in 1598, is based on actual experience. In company with Sir Walter Raleigh, whose tutor he was, Hariot came to America in 1584. But he was by no means an adventurer, either; in fact, he later became one of the greatest mathematicians of his time. One has to look into the *True Report* of Martin Frobisher's navigations (the Latin version printed in 1580) and *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (second edition, 1635) for a genuine taste of the sea.

Eminent among the English explorers is John Smith, the last of the great adventurers and the first of the great colonizers. His founding of the colony at Jamestown does not interest us here, but it certainly should be remembered that John Smith was the first real explorer of the New England coast. The very name "New England" originated with him. Sent over by London merchants with two ships in 1614, he did his job thoroughly. "I have drawn a map," he wrote, "from

point to point, ile to ile, and harbour to harbour, with the soundings, sands, rocks and landmarks as I passed close aboard the shore in a little boat." From Penobscot to Cape Cod he investigated every nook. The next year, he made two attempts to reach New England for purposes of settlement. First he failed on account of bad weather, and on the second voyage he fell into the hands of French pirates. While in prison, he wrote his *Description of New England*, published in 1616 with the map he made — "the earliest thoroughly accurate map of Massachusetts Bay," as Justin Winsor called it. This voyage was Smith's last achievement. At the age of thirty-seven, full of plans and practical knowledge, he was doomed to inactivity for the rest of his life. On the title-page of his *Generall Historie*, dealing with Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles, the author signed himself — a melancholy reminder! — as "Sometime Governour in those Countreyes & Admirall of New England."

Marc Lescarbot's bulky little tome *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, printed in 1609, gives a review of the voyages of the outstanding French explorers, from Verrazano and Cartier to Pontrincourt, in whose company the author visited the New World in 1606. But more valuable is *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain*, with its large map of New France which includes also the coast of Maine and partly that of Massachusetts. The volume contains the account of four voyages of Champlain, those of 1604, 1610, 1611 and 1613. The results of his first voyage in 1603 were embodied in an earlier book. *Les Voyages* appeared in 1613, printed by Jean Berval in Paris. The map was based on Champlain's surveys of 1604 and 1606. It gives the earliest approximately correct view of the coast line of New England.

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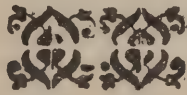
In the next row begins that part of the exhibit which bears directly on the founding of Boston and the Bay Colony, and on their political and social history during the seventeenth century. The first book on view is *The Humble Request*, John Winthrop's and his companions' farewell address "to the rest of their Brethren, in and of the Church of England — for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removall of suspitions, and misconstructions of their Intentions." Then there is the first draft of the Freeman's Oath in the handwriting of John Winthrop, together with its modified form and with the Servants' Oath, these latter in the handwriting of Governor Dudley. An order to the jail-keeper setting a certain John Dand temporarily free, shows Winthrop in the exercise of his gubernatorial functions. The complete manuscript of his *Arbitrary Government Described and Government of Massachusetts Vindicated from that Aspersion* was presented to the Library by the late Robert C. Winthrop. The tract was written in 1644, at a time when there were grave dissensions among the Colonists about the principles of their government. The paper caused a great stir and Winthrop was hotly attacked. It is the first political treatise written by an American.

One of the most valued possessions of the Library is the unique, contemporary copy of the *Bay Colony Records*, a large folio volume of over three hundred pages. It is not known by whom and when it was written. The volume once belonged to Edward Hutchinson, the son of Anne, who was mortally wounded in King Philip's War in 1675. Through his son and grandson it finally passed to his great-grandson, Thomas Hutchinson, the last royal governor of Massachusetts, who in 1774 took it to England. It was in London that Colonel Aspinwall bought the manuscript from the bookseller Rodd; he later sold it to Samuel Barlow, at the sale

THE
H V M B L E
R E Q V E S T O F
H I S M A I E S T I E S
loyall Subjects, the Governour
and the Company late gone for
N E W - E N G L A N D ;

To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the
Church of *E N G L A N D*.

For the obtaining of their Prayers,
and the removall of suspitions, and mis-
constructions of their Intentions.



L O N D O N,
Printed for I O H N B E L L A M I E. 1630.
C 3.

TITLE-PAGE OF JOHN WINTHROP'S "THE HUMBLE REQUEST . . ."
ONE OF THE FIVE EXISTING COPIES

of whose collection the Boston Public Library acquired the volume. The value of the copy is greatly enhanced by the fact that it contains also portions which are lacking from the original Records, for which therefore it is the only authority.

Each of the dozen or so printed volumes in the cases is such as should whet the appetite of the collector. *New-England's Plantation*, by Francis Higginson, the first minister at Salem, is "a short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that Countrey." The soil is described as fertile, beasts are many, and the climate is favorable. Among the discommodities are prominently mentioned the "little Flies called Musketoos which are nothing but Gnats" and the Snakes and Serpents, especially the Rattle-Snakes "that will not fly from a man as others will, but will flye upon him and sting him mortally." Soon after Higginson's book appeared, John White, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of New England colonization, published his *Planters Plea*, proving that the planting of colonies is beneficent and that "New England is a fit country for the seating of an English colony." "The Muskitoes indeed infest the planters," he wrote among other observations, "but after one yeares acquaintance, men make light account of them; some sleight defence for the hands and face, smoake and a close house may keepe them off . . ." White, minister at Dorchester, England, did not come to America, but he closely watched the affairs of the Colonists. William Wood's *New England Prospect*, on the other hand, is based on personal knowledge. It is "a true, lively, and experimentall description . . . discovering the state of that Countrie, both as it stands to our new-come English Planters, and to the old Native Inhabitants." Preceding the first page is a carefully drawn map showing "the south part of New England, as it is Planted this yeare, 1634." The book deals with the geography, flora and fauna of New England, and with the life and customs of the Indians. The last five pages contain an Indian dictionary — "because many have desired to heare some of the Native Language."

In 1637 appeared with the imprint of Amsterdam, though probably issued from London, Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan*. This, too, is a description of the country and its native inhabitants. But its most interesting part is the one which recounts the vicissitudes of the author, "Thomas Mortons entertainment and wrack." Morton came to New England in 1622. A few years later he bought a partnership in Captain Wollaston's venture, and established himself at what he called Mare Mount (Merry Mount). In the spring of 1627 he erected there a May-pole, "a goodly pine tree of 80 foote longe," and in the company of the Indians, with whom he was on the friendliest terms, he held high revels, to the disgust of the Plymouth Elders. Indeed, Thomas Morton deliberately defied the Pilgrims and Puritans alike. He not only continued unperturbed his drinking and merry pranks, but also composed all sorts of satires about his fellow settlers. His example attracted a number of malcontents to his place. Governor Bradford admonished the revellers to mend their ways; they, however, were heedless. Finally, Miles Standish led a punitive expedition to Merry Mount. Morton was arrested, the May-pole was cut down, and the little colony was dispersed. Next year, however, Morton reappeared at Merry Mount, continuing there his riotous living. Now Governor Endicott made a raid upon him. Morton returned to England, where he tried to stir up sentiment against the Colonists. In 1644 he was again in America, but — his spirit broken — he was by then a quiet man.

An Abstract or [sic] the Laws of New England was published anonymously in 1641. These laws, taken chiefly from the Old Testament, were offered to the General Court of Massachusetts as a code of laws for the Colony, but — happily — were never adopted. The tract was once attributed to Sir Harry Vane, who was "religious to enthusiasm." In 1655 William Aspinwall, however, published a fuller edition of the book, remarking in the preface that he had found the manuscript in John Cotton's study after his death. *A History of New England*, "from the English planting in the Yeere 1628 untill the Yeere 1652," is the work of Captain Edward Johnson of Woburn. It is better known by its running-title *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour*. Much attention is given to the activities of the magistrates and ministers, whose lives the author commemorated in shorter or longer poems. These poems, too, would deserve a closer examination; even a cursory glance will satisfy the reader that Captain Johnson was an adept at riming. The book has given some trouble to bibliographers. At the time of its printing in 1654 many sheets were left over in the shop of the London printer, E. Brudenell. Four years later the same printer produced a compilation from the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, under the title *America Painted to the Life*. By mistake he put the title-page of Gorges's book over the left-over sheets of Johnson's work, which thus appeared as if written by Gorges. A copy of the latter's real work is placed by the side of Captain Johnson's chronicle.

Among the early descriptions of the Colony Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England*, 1642, deserves attention. The author, a lawyer, came to Boston in 1638 and stayed here till 1641. His book is full of information about the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the Colony. He gives also a short account of the fertility of the country and of the customs of the Indians. *A Description of the New World*, by George Gardiner, contains the impressions of another visitor to America. The author can hardly be called garrulous. He devotes only three short pages to New England. Here is his account of Boston: "The principall [town] is Boston, fairly built, the great street is neer half a mile long, full of wel-furnished shops of Merchandize of all sorts. Here is resident a Councill, and the Governour, which is yearly chosen from among them: this town hath a good Port, called the Bay of Boston, with many ships, which is secured with a Castle, guarded with Souldiers and Ordnance . . ." The book, now very rare, was published in 1651 in London. John Josselyn's *New-Englands Rarities Discovered* is a good description of the flora and fauna of the country. It is illustrated with a number of woodcuts. The author came to America in 1663 and his book was published in 1672. In the introduction one reads the following remark characteristic of the geographical notions of the time: "New England is by some affirmed to be an Island, bounded on the North with the River Canada (so called from Monsieur Cane) on the South with the River Mohegan or Hudsons River, so called because he was the first that discovered it . . ." Boston rather pleased the Englishman. "The Buildings are handsome," he wrote, "joyning one to the other as in London, with many large streets, most of them paved with pebble stone; in the high street towards the Common there are fair Buildings, some of stone . . ."

Along with these books a number of manuscripts are shown in the cases. On a board are pasted the autograph signatures of the Governors of Massachusetts from 1630 to 1774, and on another those of the Secretaries of State from 1630 to 1846. Then there are different documents written by, or bearing

the signatures, of the seventeenth-century Governors: Thomas Dudley's name under a mortgage deed; a testimony by Samuel Maverick taken before the Court and signed by John Endicott; a letter by Sir Harry Vane; a deposition before Sir John Leverett; and the statement of a man accused of a false oath made before Governor Bradstreet.

Two maps among the manuscripts attract attention by their size. The first is the earliest known map of Boston Harbor; and the second is Louis Hennepin's map, showing the whole of Northern America "situated between New Mexico and the Frozen Sea, together with the course of the great river Meschasipi." The Hennepin map was included in *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, published in London in 1698. The original French edition of the book had appeared a year before at Utrecht. The author, a "missionary recollect and apostolic notary," was one of the company of La Salle, whom he accused, after his death, of malice, as Hennepin claimed for himself credit for the discoveries. **The book is unreliable**, but the map is one of the best made in that period. Greater, however, is our interest in the chart of Boston Harbor, drawn probably in 1687. It is a clearly detailed map about one foot square, on a sheet measuring 21 by 19 inches. The shoals, banks and reefs are shaded in colors, and single rocks and ledges are indicated by crosses. The soundings of the main channels and passages between the harbor islands are marked in fathoms. The scale is one inch to a mile. At the bottom of the sheet, to the left, is a note: "This Harbour of Boston, with soundings without and coming in are laid down as taken by Captain John Fayrwether, Captain Thomas Smith, Captain Timothy Armitage, Captain Joseph Eldridge, Masters, and Phillip Wells Employed for the same by his Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain and Governour-in-Chief of his Majestie's Territory and Dominion of New England, in America." And continuing: "South and by East Moon makes high water and flows ordinary high tides 12 foot, 10 foot nep tides at Boston." Captain Fayrwether (Fayerweather), after whom the chart has been named, was a well-known figure in the Colony. He served in the Indian War of 1675-76, and was later a close partisan of Governor Andros, who in the rebellion of April 1689 appointed him commander of the Castle. Philip Wells, whose name is in the lower right-hand corner, had been Governor Dungan's surveyor in New York.

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A number of books and manuscripts illustrate this most dramatic incident in the history of early Boston — the rebellion against Sir Edmund Andros. The Colonial Charter, granted in 1630, was revoked by Charles II in 1684. Two years later James II sent over Sir Edmund as the new royal governor of the consolidated colonies of New England and New York. Andros was not unfamiliar with America. In 1674 he had been selected by James, then Duke of York, to be governor of the province recently surrendered by the Dutch. He then stayed for three years in New York, returning to England for court service. At the time of King Philip's War he offered the Bay Colony his help which, however, was promptly refused. In 1680 he made a short visit to Boston direct from England. Now he arrived as the chief magistrate — and the troubles immediately began. His first step was to appropriate the South Meeting House for a two-hour Episcopal service on Sundays with which he infuriated the ministers. Carrying out his orders from London, he questioned the validity of land titles, imposed

arbitrary taxes, allowed only one town meeting a year, and harassed the Colonists in many other ways. The presence of numerous "red-coats" in itself was an eyesore to the townspeople. The Colonists, who at various times had argued much about the nature of arbitrary government, had at last a real taste of it. But the reign of Andros did not last long. His fortune was bound up with that of James in England. In December 1688 the King fled from London, and in February William and Mary proclaimed themselves sovereigns. Copies of their proclamation were brought to Boston on April 4. Naturally, great was the excitement among the inhabitants. Andros tried to seize the papers, which merely increased the ferment. The revolt broke out on the 18th. "The people in arms" captured several of Andros's followers and, in the evening of the same day, the Governor himself was under arrest. Without any bloodshed the government was overthrown. The next day fifteen gentlemen met in the council-chamber and constituted themselves a provisional government.

The ultimatum of this provisional government to the captive Andros, sent to him from their first meeting, is perhaps the most interesting item in the case. Both the draft and the official copy are in the Library. "We judge it necessary that you forthwith surrender and deliver up the government and fortifications, to be preserved and disposed of according to order and directions from the Crown of England which is suddenly expected may arrive . . ." the document reads, promising security from violence both to Andros and to his "gentry and soldiers," but also warning him that "if any oppositions be made, the fortifications may be taken by storm." The fifteen signers were Simon Bradstreet, William Stoughton, Thomas Danforth, John Nelson, Elisha Cook, John Richards, David Waterhouse, Weight Winthrop, Samuel Shrimpton, William Brown, Bartholomew Gedney, Adam Winthrop, John Foster, Isaac Addington and Peter Sargent.

Several other documents show how the development of events led to the final culmination. Long before Andros's arrival the Colonists sensed that their land ownership was threatened. To secure the necessary titles, they procured grants from the original owners, the Indians. A fine specimen is the one given by Charles Josiah, sachem of the Punkapoag Indians, to Samuel Shrimpton and others as representatives of the town for Noddle's Island. The Indian chief relinquished his illusory claim "for a valuable consideration paid to him in hands." The grant was a gesture rather than an act of power. But the Colonists were certainly justified in their fear. One of the first acts of Andros had been to declare that "the landholders are tenants at will, and that, as the people had forfeited their Charter, as a consequence they had forfeited their possessions under it."

In April 1688 Increase Mather sailed for England, bringing to the King the addresses of the churches and the complaints of the Colonists against Andros. He was graciously received by James, who promised to the Colonists a "Magna Charta for Liberty of Conscience." Mather's notes for his audience are shown in the exhibit — together with his "Matters of Complaynt objected against Sir Edmund Andros." But the latter had to be handed to William. Indeed, one of its principal charges was that "when Intelligence arrived in New England that His present Majesty (then Prince of Orange) was landed in England to deliver the whole nation from Popery and Arbitrary Government, Sir Edmund did what he could to keep the people ignorant of it; and the man which brought the Prince of Orange his Declaration into the country, was on that account sent to prison: —

the Prince's Declaration being called a treasonable and seditious paper . . ." One may assume that this complaint at least was heard with willing ear. The next manuscript, an unsigned copy, is King William's order for the dismissal of Andros and the restoration of the Charter. But the royal order merely confirmed the actual situation, for the old governor, Simon Bradstreet, and the Council of 1686 had returned to office a few months before.

The rebellion called forth a number of pamphlets, from both Colonists and the partisans of Andros. *An Account of the late Revolution in New England* by Nathaniel Byfield, published in June 1689, was written within a fortnight after the events. The introduction relates an incident which has all the picturesqueness proper to the occasion. "We have also advice," it reads, "that on Friday last towards evening, Sir Edmund Andros did attempt to make an escape in Womans Apparel, and passed two Guards, and was stopped at the third, being discovered by his shoes, not having changed them . . ." Captain John Palmer promptly undertook the justification of Andros's government in his *An Impartial Account of the State of New England*. "I have thought fit," he wrote, "to make it publick here, that the World may see how barbarously we have been used by those Professing People who . . . detained us ten months in prison . . . and afterwards caused us to be put on Board, a deep loaden Ship, where we endured all the Miseries of a troublesome winter voyage." The Government of Massachusetts, however, was not slow in refuting the charges. Their two principal publications, *The Revolution in New England Justified* and the *Narrative of the Proceedings of Andros*, are included in the exhibit.

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The ecclesiastical history of the first three generations — and this includes the social and, to a large extent, the political history as well — is embodied in the ten large volumes of original autograph letters and other documents known as the *Mather, Cotton, Hinckley and Prince Papers*. The Mather Papers alone occupy seven volumes, consisting of over five hundred pieces; the Cotton and Hinckley Papers contain about three hundred manuscripts; the Prince volume, in addition, has about fifty letters. These papers furnish a veritable mine for the historian; there is no other source equally important for the reconstruction of the religious and social history of the period.

Nearly one hundred correspondents — mostly divines and magistrates — are represented in the Mather Papers. There are many letters by Richard, Increase and Cotton Mather, but the most profuse letter-writer of the family seems to have been Nathaniel, son of Richard. There is good reason for his many epistles. Nathaniel Mather, after his graduation from Harvard, went to England and afterwards to Dublin, never returning again to America. He kept up a constant correspondence with his parents and brothers here. There are numerous letters from John Cotton, John Davenport, Thomas Cobbett, Robert Payne, John Higginson, Daniel Clarke — from almost every prominent clergyman of the century. The Mather Papers, as well as the other manuscripts, belong to the Prince Collection. It was Thomas Prince himself who arranged them in their present chronological order. For years the papers were in the custody of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which in 1868 published them in a large volume.

All sorts of questions are discussed and incidents related in these letters. In one, now on view, John Cotton addresses his wife, starting thus: "My dear wife and comfortable yoke fellow — If our heavenly Father be pleased to

make our yoke more heavy, then wee did so soone expect, remember (I pray thee) what wee have heard that our heavenly Husband the Lord Jesus, when he first called us to fellowship with himself, called us into this condition, to deny ourselves and to take up our crosse dayly, to follow him. And truly (Sweete Heart) though this cup may be brackish at the first tast . . ." Richard Mather, in one of his letters, considers the frequency of the administration of the Lord's Supper. Again, John Cotton (of Plymouth) advises Rowland Cotton of severe disasters at sea; William Stoughton scrutinizes the political horizon of Europe, describing the rivalry between Charles II and the House of Commons; Samuel Sewall speaks of the trouble with the Indians, and of New England affairs in general. The majority of the letters were written to the Mathers, most of them to Increase Mather.

But the Puritan divines were not only generous letter-writers; they were also voluminous authors. Books and pamphlets written by the Mathers would fill a library. The number of Cotton Mather's tracts alone exceeds four hundred! There was always something to write about, or someone to write against. The controversies around Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and the Quakers called forth dozens of pamphlets. Thomas Welde, pastor of the Roxbury Church, was the chief enemy of Mistress Hutchinson and her followers. He compiled a whole "Catalogue of such erronous opinions as were found to have been brought into New England, and spread underhand there, as they were condemned by an Assembly of the Churches, at New Town, Aug. 30, 1637." The book, entitled *Antinomians and Familists*, also reports the proceedings of Anne's trial. It is believed that Governor Winthrop himself had a hand in its composition. The tract was also published under the title *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists and other Libertines*, and this issue contains a Preface signed by Thomas Welde. One of the arraigned, John Wheelwright junior, replied to Welde's account in his *Massachusetts' great Apologie Examined*. "After we had escaped the persecuting Prelates then you began to be prelaticall yourselves," he flung at the Churches. "Else why did not you admit those men who left the Bishops as well as ye to a freedome of spirit and conscience which they came for?" Welde was also one of the principal antagonists of Roger Williams. In this case, however, he was eclipsed by his friend, John Cotton. Williams, who was expelled by the General Court as early as 1635, made public his accusation against the Puritans under the title *The Bloudy Tenent*. Upon Cotton's answer, *The Bloudy Tenent, Washed and Made White in the Bloud of the Lambe* (printed in London in 1647) he issued, in 1652, *The Bloody Tenant Yet More Bloody*. The work, written in the form of a dialogue between Peace and Truth, examines "the nature of persecution, and the power of the civill sword in Spirituals"; it contains also a justification of "the Parliament's permission of dissenting consciences." In the same year Williams published his *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*, dedicated to Lady Vane, the Younger. In it he argues that "the weakest child of God may get assurance of his Spirituall Life and Blessednesse."

A lesser man than Williams, Samuel Gorton gave plenty of trouble to the authorities of the Bay Colony. Found guilty of heresy, Gorton was imprisoned and finally banished. Naturally he took himself to Rhode Island, where he wrote his *Simplicities Defense against Seven-Headed Policy*, 1646, giving vent to his

spite against the Boston magistrates. He was answered by Edward Winslow, the former governor of Plymouth Colony, in *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 1646. According to Winslow, Gorton was engaged, in league with treacherous Indians, in a conspiracy against the Plantations. The most important portion of the book, however, is its last part. This is not concerned with Gorton at all, but gives an account of the Church of the Pilgrims at Leyden, and of their emigration to New England. Without defending Gorton, "a man notorious for heresie," Major John Child in his *New-Englands Jonas Cast up at London*, 1647, questioned Winslow's narrative of the Leyden Church. Child's book was written chiefly in the interest of certain inhabitants of Hingham who, the year before, had vainly petitioned the General Court for the right to vote and hold office in the Colony. What gives great value to this tract is that it contains the earliest contemporary reprint of *The Freeman's Oath*, the first issue of the first press in British America, of which now no copy exists. To this group belongs also *Ill Newes from New-England*, 1652, by John Clark, "physician of Rode Island." "Wherein is declared that while old England is becoming new, New England is become Old," the title-page reads suggestively. The author tells of the ill-treatment which he and his two companions received at Lynn, while on a visit there, for refusing to attend public service. One of them, Obadiah Holmes, was severely whipped. Later as agent of his Colony in London Clark obtained a royal charter which guaranteed to the people of Rhode Island freedom from molestation for "any differences of opinions on matters of religion."

It was in 1656 that the first Quakers arrived in Boston, but the Puritan divines were quick to forewarn the people against their "grosse blasphemies and horrid delusions" long before they were here. Thomas Welde, Richard Prideaux, Samuel Hammond and other ministers published in 1654, in joint authorship, *The perfect Pharise, under Monkish Holiness*, examining the Quaker doctrines one by one and pronouncing their professors "grievous Wolves." The Quaker teaching that "every man in the world hath a light within him sufficient to guide him to salvation, without the help of any outward light or discovery" was, of course, their special stumbling block. In the same year a law was passed against the admission of these disturbers. The Quakers, however, after they had once arrived, kept coming in increasing numbers, in spite of the imprisonment in store for them. Those who were banished, promptly returned. More and more severe punishments were meted out against them, and finally, in October 1658, a law was passed inflicting the death penalty on such Quakers as should dare to come back. At the same time the General Court appointed John Norton to write a book about the Quaker principles. This he did in *The Heart of New England Rent at the Blasphemies of the present Generation*, printed at Cambridge in 1659. (The Library's copy is of the second edition, London, 1660.) John Norton's pamphlet was answered by Humphrey Norton in *New-England's Ensigne*, 1659, giving a detailed account of the suffering of the Quakers. In the meantime matters grew from bad to worse; in October 1659 two Quakers were hanged, and a third, a woman, in June 1660. The General Court found it necessary to justify its action before the King, so they presented a *Humble Petition and Address* "unto the High and Mighty Prince Charles the Second." This petition called forth Edward Burroughs's *A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecution and Martyrdom of the People of God called Quakers*, 1660. The book gives a full account of the

executions of the first three martyrs. The Boston magistrates, however, persisted that the Quakers should not intrude into the Colony, and, since the Quakers were equally obstinate, in March 1661 a fourth person was hanged. After this date — owing to the interference of the King, and possibly because of a change in public opinion — the death penalty was no more applied to the Quakers.

About thirty other tracts are shown in the exhibit, some of them great rarities. Only a few can be mentioned here. *God's Promise to his Plantation*, 1639, *The Pouring out of the Seven Vials*, 1642, and *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, 1644, are by John Cotton, "the mightiest man in New England," of whom some people in Massachusetts used to say, as Roger Williams has reported, that "they could hardly believe that God would suffer Mr. Cotton to err." One may see *The Soules Humiliation*, 1637, and *Four Learned and Godly Treatises*, 1638, by Thomas Hooker, the first pastor of Cambridge and later one of the founders of Connecticut. *New England's Teares, for old England's Feares*, 1641, was preached in July 1640 by William Hooke, pastor of Taunton, a cousin of Cromwell and a brother-in-law of General Edward Whalley, the regicide. Thomas Shepard, in high repute for his piety and learning, wrote *The Sincere Convert*, 1641, and Peter Bulkeley, the first minister of Concord, *The Gospel-Covenant*, 1646. On view are besides — representing the second and third generations of Puritan divines — William Hubbard's sermon *The Happiness of the People in the Wisdome of their Rulers*, 1676; Urian Oakes's *The Unconquerable, all-Conquering, and more-than-Conquering Souldier*, 1674; Samuel Willard's *Brief Animadversions upon the New England Anabaptists*, 1681; Cotton Mather's *An Arrow against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing*, 1684, and other pieces. The group ends with Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* — "the ecclesiastical history of New England, from its first planting in the year 1620 unto the year of Our Lord 1689" — a monument to a bygone epoch.

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Yet this epoch did not pass without a significant episode. The trial of the Salem witches in 1692 was perhaps the last blaze of what was narrowest in Puritanism — doing much for the purging of Puritanism itself. Afterwards the Evil Spirits ceased to stalk so freely among the inhabitants of Massachusetts. It was years before the recantations were solemnly made; but then the dawn of the new conscience had really begun.

The whole tragic incident is vividly depicted in the exhibit by the original depositions of some of the poor "witches," themselves in mortal fear of witchcraft, and by the works of Cotton Mather, Increase Mather, Deodat Lawson — and of Robert Calef and John Hale, the last two courageously taking a stand against the general hysteria. Three manuscripts show that witches haunted the Massachusetts towns long before the climax came at Salem Village. As early as October 1671 Samuel Willard, later minister of the Old South Church in Boston, wrote an account of the strange case of Elizabeth Knapp at Groton. That poor woman confessed that "the devill had oftentimes appeared to her, presenting the treaty of a Covenant, and proffering largely to her such things as suited her youthfull fancye, money, silkes, fine cloathes, ease from labor, to show her the whole world, etc." Being pressed by the clergyman, she also declared that "the devill had assaulted her many wayes, that he came down the chimney, and shee essayed to escape him, but was siezed upon by him, that hee sat upon her breast and used many arguments with her." The account occupies

several closely written sheets, and in its minute observations, it would put to shame any record taken in a modern hospital for the insane. In October 1683 Joshua Moody had to relate to Increase Mather "sundry new things that seem to bee matters of witchcraft." He fully described "a monstrous birth" — so monstrous indeed that one recoils from reading through the report. In August 1688 he learned again something new. "Three or four children of one Goodwin, a mason," he wrote to Mather, "have been for some weeks grievously tormented, crying out of head, eyes, tongue, teeth, breaking their neck, back, thighs, knees, legs, etc." so that "We cannot but think the devill has an hand in it by some instrument." A few months later Goody Glover, an Irish laundress, was hanged for the bewitchment of the Goodwin children — the fourth and last hanging in Boston for witchcraft.

Among the manuscripts bearing on the Salem trials is a warrant for Daniel Andrew, Elizabeth Coleston and George Jacobs, the last of whom was executed on July 19. The examination of Ann Dolliver — the wife of Captain William Dolliver and daughter of John Higginson, the "Nestor of the New England clergy" — took place on June 6. Higginson distinctly disapproved of the witchcraft proceedings from the beginning and his courageous letters to the judges, though several members of his family were persecuted, are among the most cheering documents of the Affair. Asked why she stayed several times in the woods, Ann Dolliver replied that she did so "because she would rather lie in the woods than come over with the ugly fellow that kept the ferry." She confessed that she made wax puppets, for she had heard that "that was the way to afflict them that had afflicted her." Mary Ireson, examined by Simon Willard, meekly said that she "may be in this affliction for her other sins, for she had been of a bad temper, but as for witchcraft she had not that sin." Elizabeth Brooke, Susanna Sheldon, Mary Walcott and Mary Warren, however, fell down at the trial when she looked on them and were well again when she touched them. Mary Warren also testified that Mary Ireson had brought her "the book to sign." She was asked to confess and thus break "the snare of the devil," — but the tormented woman did not know that she was in a snare. John Alden, the son of the Pilgrim Father of the same name, was also among the accused. But that husky sailor broke his jail just before the execution of nine of the victims took place. Relatives of his hid him at Duxbury, until in April 1693 the whole case was brought to a close.

Pasted on a board one may see the autograph signatures of the members of the Special Court — "Oyer and Terminer." Sir William Phips, the new governor, two weeks after his arrival appointed the judges: William Stoughton, deputy-governor, became chief justice, and his associates were Samuel Sewall, Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Richards, Bartholomew Gedney, Wait Winthrop, and Peter Sargent. Saltonstall early withdrew, and Jonathan Corwin succeeded to his place. Thomas Newton, a lawyer, was made special King's attorney. Samuel Parris and Nicholas Noyes, ministers at Salem, served as court reporters, especially busy in hunting down the witches.

Among the books on view Increase Mather's *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* is of special interest as illustrating the mentality of the most outstanding divine of the period before the witchcraft delusion burst out with its frightful force; the book was published in 1684. Deodat Lawson's *Sermon* was preached at the beginning of the Salem trials. Cotton Mather is

represented by his famous *Wonders of the Invisible World*, containing among other matters "Some Council Directing a due Improvement of the terrible things, lately done, by the Unusual and Amazing Range of Evil Spirits in our Neighbourhood." The book was published "by the special command of his Excellency, the Governour," and was approved by William Stoughton and Samuel Sewall. Increase Mather, the writer's father, read it beforehand. Increase Mather's own *Cases of Conscience*, however, struck a milder note: "It is better that a guilty person should be absolved, then that he should without sufficient ground of conviction be condemned," he wrote, adding: "I had rather judge a Witch to be a honest woman, than judge an honest woman as a witch." He declared himself against the conviction of people on the mere basis of spectral evidence; that is, the Devil's appearing to the afflicted in the shape of a certain person. The preface of this book is signed by fourteen prominent divines, among them William Hubbard, the historian, and Michael Wigglesworth, the poet. Increase Mather's treatise was written in October 1692, after, alas, twenty persons had been executed. The trial was carried on, but there were no more executions, and in May all the accused in jail — about one hundred and fifty persons — were set free.

Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, printed in London in 1700, surely deserves one's attention. Calef, an obscure young man, fiercely attacked Cotton Mather for his part in the persecutions. The case of Margaret Rule, another "witch" discovered in Boston after the Salem trials were closed, in which Cotton Mather again displayed a lively interest, was the occasion of Calef's attack. In his book he published the letters which in 1693 and 1694 he had addressed to the leading magistrates in the Salem trials. The book, which was possibly prompted by Thomas Brattle, an influential and wealthy merchant, was burnt by Increase Mather in the yard of Harvard College. It also received an answer in *Some few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book against the Government and Ministry of New England*, published by seven members of the Second Church. John Hale's *A Modest Inquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft*, printed in 1702, owes its interest to the fact that it was written by one who himself took an active part in the persecutions. John Hale, pastor of Beverly, turned against the witch-hunters only after his own wife was accused of evil practices. Charles W. Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, published in 1867 in two volumes, is the most comprehensive work about the Case. The copy on exhibition contains over a hundred inserted autograph letters, signatures, and engravings.

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The first book printed in the British Colonies in America was the *Bay Psalm Book* — "The Whole Booke of Psalmes" — published in Cambridge in 1640. Soon after the settling of the Bay Colony, the leading divines decided to publish a new translation of the Hebrew psalms in verse. "Thirty pious and learned Ministers" took the matter in hand. No one knows now who was responsible for the translation of any particular portion. But the principal part of the work was done by Richard Mather, of Cambridge, and John Eliot and Thomas Welde, pastors at Roxbury. The verses are very poor — but smoothness and elegance were not the chief considerations of the translators. "Let no one think," they wrote rather proudly, "that for the meetres sake wee have taken liberty or poeticall licence to depart from the true and proper sence of Davids words in the hebrew verses." They knew well that "Gods altar needs not their polishings." But the motto which

the translators chose for the title-page is certainly characteristic: "If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if any be merry let him sing psalms," they quoted from the Epistle of James.

These pious and learned ministers wrote verse copiously — John Eliot even in the Indian language — but they were no poets. The profane and profligate Thomas Morton perhaps was one, but he has to be judged by his prose rather than by his poetry. It is generally agreed that the first American poet was Anne Bradstreet, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley and wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet. Her book *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America*, printed in 1650 in London, contains much that is genuine poetry. Her "compleat discourse of the four elements," or her "exact epitomies of the four monarchies," modelled upon the interminable stilted effusions of Du Bartas, who enjoyed then a tremendous vogue, are very monotonous indeed; but her "other pleasant and serious poems," especially "Contemplations" included in the second edition of her work, are instinct with beauty. Anne Bradstreet is the only person among the Puritans who, however faintly, reminds one that English literature, across the sea, had just passed through its most glorious age. Not till the nineteenth century can America boast her equal, and one may note with satisfaction that to-day her merit is receiving more and more adequate recognition. Michael Wigglesworth's *The Day of Doom*, printed in London in 1673, reflects, of course, more truly the Puritan spirit, but as poetry has little significance.

The contribution of American Puritanism to pure literature is scant; the few who wrote anything that may be called literature therefore stand out distinctly. *The Simple Cobbler of Agawam* by Nathaniel Ward, minister at Ipswich, is regarded as a clever piece of satire. The author, under the pseudonym Theodore de la Guard, pleads for the elimination of all heretics, ridicules the changing fashions of women, and finally counsels compromise between King Charles and the Roundheads. The book has homely wisdom, though little distinction in style or spirit. For all his wit, Nathaniel Ward seems a bit overrated. "He is no Cobbler that cannot sing, nor no good Cobbler that can sing well" — that is all that can be truthfully said about him, and this was said (though referring only to his verse) by Nathaniel Ward himself.

The books about the Indians, Indian language, Indian wars, etc., occupy two sections. *A Key into the Language of America* by Roger Williams, published in 1643, is the first English-Indian grammar, if one disregards the five pages included in William Wood's *New England Prospects*. The first Huron vocabulary, contained in Gabriel Sagard's *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, printed in 1632 in Paris, is an interesting pendant to Williams's little book. A joy to the eyes of every connoisseur must be *Eliot's Indian Tracts*, eleven pamphlets in small quarto form, the first printed in 1643 and the last in 1673, all in London. There are few libraries, private or public, which possess a complete set! The earliest tract is entitled *New Englands' First Fruits*. Only its first part deals with the Indians, describing their conversion and their application of Christianity to everyday life. The second part, "Of the progress of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay," contains the first printed account of Harvard College. This pamphlet was published "by the instant request of sundry Friends"; names, however, are not given. The other ten tracts in the group — written by John Eliot, Thomas Shepard, Edward Winslow, and Henry Whitfield — were issued by or

on behalf of the "Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England." These pamphlets have been named Eliot Tracts, because Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," was the chief instigator of their publication, besides writing about half of them. William Castell's *A Short Discoverie of the Coasts and Continent of America*, printed in London in 1644, also properly belongs to this group, since it contains "the Authors Petition to this Parliament, for the propagation of the Gospell in America." This Petition, originally written and printed in 1641, was indeed the first to suggest that Parliament should cultivate the friendship of the Indians and convert them to Christianity. Eliot's *Indian Bible*, the complete translation of the Old and New Testaments, is naturally on view. Next to the *Bay Psalm Book*, this work is perhaps the most valued item of Americana. The book does not need to be described here. (For an article on Eliot's *Indian Bible* see the June 1929 issue of MORE BOOKS.)

A short, lively account of the Pequot War was published by Philip Vincent in 1638 as *A True Relation of the Late Battell*. According to the writer, who was not a witness, no less than seven hundred Pequots were killed or taken prisoners, whereas the Colonists lost only sixteen men. The victory of the Colonists was celebrated by the author in a neat Latin poem, beginning: "Ducit in Americam varios gens Angla Colonos: Et bene conveniunt sydera, terra, solum . . ." Major John Mason's *A Brief History of the Pequot War*, based on personal experiences, did not appear until 1736, when Thomas Prince finally edited and printed it. Mason was commander of the Connecticut forces; in later years he became deputy-governor of Connecticut. King Philip's War, the bloodiest and bitterest of the Indian conflicts, was described in a number of contemporary reports. *The Present State of New-England*, printed in December 1675, tells of the "remarkable passages" that have happened from the 20th of June to the 10th of November. The work contains an order of the Council of Massachusetts about the segregation of the "friendly" Indians, who were by no means regarded as above suspicion. "They that wear the name of *Praying Indians*, but rather (as Mr. Hezekiah Ushur termed *Preying Indians*) they have made Preys of much English Blood, but now they are all reduced to their several Confinements, which is much to a general Satisfaction in that respect," a passage of the bulletin reads. Four similar official bulletins, all in folio size, were published within the next two years. The first three of these continue the history of the war, with brief gaps, till May 1676, while the last reports the end of the war — "King Philip that barbarous Indian now Beheaded, and most of his Bloudy Adherents submitted to Mercy." The Library possesses all but the last tract in the set. Besides other items, William Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* and Increase Mather's *A Relation of the Troubles which have hapned in New England* are also on view; the first records the events from 1607 to 1677 and the second from 1614 to 1675.

The Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, first printed in Cambridge in 1682 and reprinted in London in the same year, is the prototype of the Indian captivity stories. In it is set forth "the cruel and inhumane usage she underwent amongst the Heathens, for eleven weeks time." The greatest hardship Mrs. Rowlandson had to suffer was hunger, or fear of hunger. It seems, however, that the Indians themselves did not have much to eat, and what they had — ground-nuts, corn, a mess of wheat — they shared with her. The squaws, among whom she was placed, did not hurt her. She wandered with the savages from one

THE TENTH MUSE

Lately sprung up in AMERICA
OR

Severall Poems, compiled
with great variety of Wit
and Learning, full of delight.

Wherein especially is contained 2 com-
pleat discourse and description of

The Four { *Elements,*
 { *Constitutions,*
 { *Ages of Man,*
 { *Seasons of the Year.*

Together with an Exact Epitomic of
the Four Monarchies, viz.

The { *Assyrian,*
 { *Persian,*
 { *Grecian.* By Anne Bradstreet.
 { *Roman.*

Also a Dialogue between Old England and
New, concerning the late troubles.

With divers other pleasant and serious Poems

By a Gentlewoman in those parts.

Printed at London for Stephen Bewell at the signe of the
Bible in Popes Head-Alley. 1650.

TITLE-PAGE OF ANNE BRADSTREET'S "THE TENTH MUSE . . ."
PRINTED IN LONDON IN 1650

A KEY into the LANGUAGE OF AMERICA: OR,

An help to the *Language* of the *Natives*
in that part of AMERICA, called
NEW-ENGLAND.

Together, with briefe *Observations* of the *Cus-
tomes*, *Manners* and *Worships*, &c. of the
aforesaid *Natives*, in *Peace* and *Warre*,
in *Life* and *Death*.

On all which are added *Spirituell Observations*,
Generall and *Particular* by the *Ambour*, of
chiefe and speciall use (upon all occasions,) to
all the *English* Inhabiting those parts;
yet pleasant and profitable to
the view of all men:

BY ROGER WILLIAMS
of *Providence* in *New-England*.

LONDON,
Printed by Gregory Dexter, 1643.

THE FIRST ENGLISH-INDIAN DICTIONARY
WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE INDIANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

place to another, moving twenty times during eleven weeks. Finally she was delivered from her captivity — that is, she was allowed to leave, in exchange for a pint of liquor which the deputy of the English offered for her. First the Indians were all against her going, "but afterwards they assented to it, and seemed much to rejoyce in it: some asking me to send them some Bread, others some Tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a Hood and Scarf to ride in: not one moving hand or tongue against it . . ." Mrs. Rowlandson joined her husband in Boston, where she found many friends. As she wrote: "I was not before so much hem'd in with the merciless and cruel Heathen, but now as much with pitiful, tender-hearted and compassionate Christians . . ."

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The last two sections of the show cases are given to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. So much material has been brought together in this comparatively small space that a bare enumeration of the titles of the books and of the subjects of the manuscripts would require several pages. The exhibit, as mentioned at the beginning of this article, is mainly devoted to seventeenth-century Boston and Massachusetts; yet it seemed desirable to bring the story down to the present day, chiefly for the sake of the thousands of summer visitors, who seek in and around the City relics of the Revolution and of the time of Emerson, Thoreau and Longfellow.

The introduction of the Stamp Act in 1765 caused a feverish excitement in Boston. The mob entered and ravaged the home of Andrew Oliver, who was entrusted with the selling of stamps here. The house of Thomas Hutchinson, deputy-governor and Oliver's brother-in-law, was similarly sacked. A stuffed figure with Oliver's name stuck on it was hung upon the Liberty Tree by members of the club called "Sons of Liberty." The event was commemorated by a long *Poem* printed on a broadside. Governor Francis Bernard received his share of the contempt and hatred, as the *Address to a Provincial Bashaw* shows. The propriety of imposing taxes in the Colonies was passionately discussed, and on the repeal of the Act innumerable thanksgiving sermons were preached. The government in London had suffered a moral defeat. To revenge itself, in the fall of 1768 the government sent eight armed ships with two thousand soldiers to Boston. This city had never before been a garrison town and the soldiers were received with due indignation. Conflicts between the red-coats and the populace were in daily order, leading to the Boston Massacre on March 5, 1770. Captain Preston, the commander of the firing British soldiers, was tried for murder. He was defended by Josiah Quincy and John Adams, and was acquitted. Among the items on exhibition one may see Paul Revere's plan of the scene of the firing — on King Street, before the town house, four figures lying on the ground; this drawing was used in Court. There are on view, further, John Adams's original notes taken at the trial.

The next group of books and manuscripts bears on the Boston Tea Party. Foreseeing the coming troubles, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, John Hancock and others organized a Committee of Correspondence to keep in constant touch with the towns of the Province. The journal of the meetings in May and June 1773 is shown, together with the letter which the patriots wrote, a few days after the destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor, to Benjamin Franklin, then agent of the Provinces in London, asking him to intervene with the govern-

ment. The minutes of the meetings of the principal dealers in tea, held in the Royal Exchange Tavern on December 21 and 23, are also full of meaning. A week after the Tea Party, these merchants decided to stop selling tea upon which revenue was paid.

Then the Revolution: only about fifteen items are displayed, but all are of high historical value. On two boards the autograph signatures of the chief officers in the Battles of Lexington and Concord, and of Bunker Hill are shown. The Proclamation by the King "for the Suppressing of Rebellion and Sedition" is counteracted by the Proclamation of the Great and General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay. "Whereas many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in North America, misled by dangerous and ill-designing Men . . . have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion . . ." the royal manifesto angrily begins — and is answered by the slow, solemn sentences of the Colonists: "The Frailty of human Nature, the wants of Individuals and the numerous Dangers which surround them through the Course of Life, have in all Ages and in every Country, impelled them to form Societies and establish Governments . . ." Dramatically, the one ends with *God Save the King!*, and the other with *God Save the People!* There are autograph letters of Artemas Ward and George Washington, and on the British side, of Earl Percy. Orderly books, journals are displayed, and finally a broadside with the headline *Declaration of the Cessation of Arms*, printed in Boston on April 7, 1783, and bearing the signatures of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin and John Hay, ministers plenipotentiary of the United States of America in Paris. A unique item in the case is the Washington Medal, struck in celebration of the evacuation of Boston by the British forces on March 17, 1776 — the only gold medal given by Congress to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies.

The maritime enterprizes of Massachusetts, the War of 1812, the abolitionist movement, and the Civil War are merely indicated by a few books, broadsides and manuscripts. The Library possesses about twenty thousand autograph letters bearing on the anti-slavery movement; this immense mass of material is rather symbolized than represented by the five or six letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone and Harriet Beecher Stowe. John Brown's Diary, two little note-books, has been placed among the letters. Similarly, in the group relating to the Civil War there are only a portrait of Lincoln, with his autograph signature attached to it; photographs of units of the first Massachusetts Cavalry; and colored lithographs showing Massachusetts Volunteers fighting in the Battle of the Wilderness.

First-edition copies of works by Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Longfellow, Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Whittier remind the visitor of the time when philosophers, poets and novelists walked through the streets of Boston.

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PARKER HILL, 1518 Tremont St. *Highland 6593*
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